

# PEACE NEWS

Brotherhood : Non-Violence : Freedom

What Sir Winston should  
have told America

EMRYS HUGHES, M.P.  
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## Anti H-bomb speaker tells councils

### "We charge you with organising a sham"

THE Civil Defence Officer and the chairman of the CD committee of Islington, a North London Borough, both declined to be present at a meeting organised last week by the "A" Group, a non-political organisation working for a common-sense policy in reply to the H-bomb.

On the platform of the Hall where the meeting took place were two empty chairs bearing notices, "reserved for local CD officials." Two rows of seats were also reserved for Islington councillors who had been invited. Only two turned up.

The meeting heard the recorded voice of Dr. Donald Soper say "a concentration of civil defence is not only useless, but unethical."

Coventry City councillor E. A. C. Roberts then spoke. Of the historic decision of his Council to abolish Civil Defence preparations in Coventry, he said: "We took this action because we wanted to protect every citizen in our city. Our action broke through the complacency over civil defence and the H-bomb."

But the highlight of the evening for Islington residents was the report by the "A" Group of their visits to London Civil Defence Officers. A series of questions were put to the officials. This is the way in which Major Robert Whyte, CD officer for Islington replied:

1. If an H-bomb dropped in the Borough we could expect total extinction. If one did drop here, North Finchley (a neighbouring borough) would dig us out. If the whole country were devastated, we could get help from France and across the Channel.
2. What could we do if an H-bomb dropped here? We could do nothing.
3. What could CD do to provide water, food and other essential services after an H-bomb had dropped? The stopcocks would be buried under the debris, so we could not have a cup of tea.

Mr. Ken Newton, one of the people responsible for organising the interviews said amid cheers: "On the basis of the facts that we have

## DOCTORS SUPPORT COVENTRY

AT a special meeting on Monday, Coventry City Council confirmed its decision to disband its civil defence committee.

They consider that the H-bomb has made it a waste of time and public money.

During the debate a Conservative (opposition) Councillor said that he ascribed "the highest motives to the movers of the resolution."

The deputy leader of the Labour (majority) group, Alderman G. Hodgkinson, said: "The main purpose of this resolution is to make a gesture which may ultimately lead to an outlawing of the bomb."

### Inadequate medical resources

Last week the Executive of the Medical Association for the Prevention of War, told the Council, in a letter, that the MAPW fully supported Coventry's action. The letter concluded:

"Our membership comprises only medical practitioners and students, and in consequence the Association is deeply aware of the impossibility of any country finding adequate resources—in terms of medical manpower, suitable hospital buildings, drugs, blood transfusion facilities, and so on—to deal with the terrible results of even a small series of atomic explosions of the now outdated Hiroshima type. The newest weapons so dwarf this in their potential effects that we consider the only entirely realistic piece of 'Civil Defence' is to make wholly certain that these weapons shall never be employed."

"Your policy will continue to command our wholehearted support and encouragement."

Demonstration at Salisbury—page three

## BRIEFLY . . .

So improved is the food situation in Pakistan that the undelivered portion of the United States wheat gift will not be required. India's food position is so much better than during recent years, that rationing has been greatly reduced, or, in some instances, given up altogether. Against grain imports of 4,700,000 tons in 1951, only 2,000,000 tons were needed in 1953, and 1954 is showing a continuation of the trend.

Devadas Gandhi, one of the trustees of the Gandhi Memorial Fund, recently announced in Delhi that the Fund had collected 70 per cent of the films of Mahatma Gandhi taken by private individuals, and it proposed to produce documentaries of about a quarter of these films. It is expected that commentaries will be made in all the principal foreign languages.—WP

learned, we charge the authorities with organising a sham."

Mr. Michael Howard, one of the founders of the "A" Group asked the audience, "Where are your local councillors tonight?" There were cries of "Shame!"

"I urge you to go after them," he said, "make known your views and force them to do what you want."

Rev. A. D. Belden chairing the meeting, said that what was needed now was a wave of such meetings throughout the land. Public opinion was beginning to move on this issue and this was the level at which to operate, the level of the local district and the local council.

By taking a stand against the sham of Civil Defence it would be possible to expose the whole bankruptcy of the war method and we might persuade people to listen to more constructive suggestions for achieving peace.

## COLLECTIVE SECURITY—OR COLLECTIVE SUICIDE?

### An open letter to the delegates to the Ninth Annual Meeting of the General Council of the United Nations Association

DEAR COLLEAGUES,

The use of collective force has had its place in the objects of our Association from the beginning. This weekend you will for the first time be faced with the need to examine critically the idea of collective security.

This letter is written in order to remind you of some of the reasons why collective security, whatever its advantages in the past, may today conceal some of the greatest dangers facing mankind.

Between the two world wars I was one of those who, through the League of Nations Union, struggled for the acceptance of the idea of collective security. I still believe that 15-18 years ago collective action by the members of the League might have prevented the outbreak of war. To remove the causes of war would still have been an urgent problem, for as Mr. J. Foster Dulles wrote in 1935, if the Covenant of the League were observed "existing frontiers would be perpetuated for all time, save as one State freely ceded its territory to another; and this is both impracticable and undesirable."

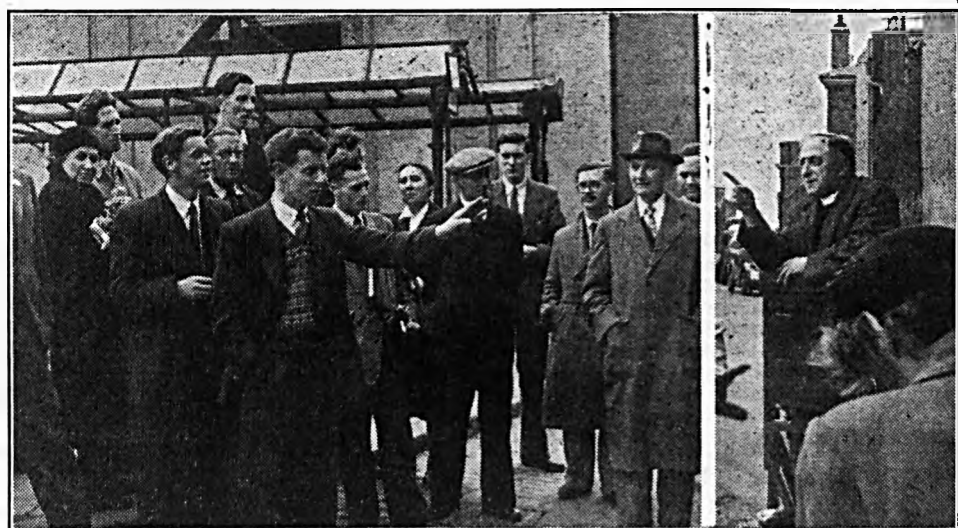
In the last war, we no less than our enemies abandoned all the restraints (save only the use of poison gas) which our peacetime morality had led us to hope might be observed. We, and not our enemies, ended it with the use of atomic weapons, although by then there was not even the slight justification of military need. Our subsequent use of napalm, and the clearly stated intention of our American allies to use H-bombs and similar weapons at the outbreak of the next war, deprive us of any claim to moral superiority over the Communist powers.

Whatever justification there might have been for a "League" war with weapons of the Thirties, there is none for a United Nations war with weapons of today. But I have learned from past General Council meetings that the appeal to morality is not enough to secure acceptance of a viewpoint. I therefore concentrate now on the practical issues.

The idea of collective security was worked out as a means by which one potential or actual aggressor nation could be deterred or punished by the collective action of all the others. We thought in those days that the mere cutting off of economic supplies might be sufficient to prevent an attack, though most of us were prepared to face the use of military sanctions—for example, against Mussolini in 1935.

The position today is quite different. We have not one aggressor, but two power blocs, and the uncommitted nations of the world. East and West each accuse the other of aggression—each with some measure of justification. Each works as much by the promotion of internal disorder in the territories controlled by the other as it does by direct means. Each now has weapons with which civilisation as we know it can be destroyed, probably forever. The Americans have even declared recently that while Russian experiments continue, the inhabitants of the Trust Territory in the Marshall Islands can have no hope of an end to the bombing experiments in the Pacific Ocean. Already,

## "GET OUT INTO THE STREET"



More and more pacifists are taking Dr. Soper's advice and are getting "out into the streets" with their call to Britain to renounce the use of the H-bomb.

In the Peace News Diary, on page five, a number of poster parades and open-air meetings are announced for this week-end, including a demonstration in Trafalgar Square on Saturday, organised by the No Conscription Council.

On the following Saturday, July 24, Ealing members of the Peace Pledge Union and Fellowship of Reconciliation are joining with local Quakers in holding an open-air meeting on the green at 3.30 p.m. Speakers will be Sybil Morrison and the Rev. Donald Redman. The meeting will be preceded by a poster parade. Offers of help should be sent to Stanley

Dyke, 48 Barnfield Road, W.5.

Above Dr. A. D. Belden is seen speaking outside Woolwich Arsenal.

## Dr. Soper says it again

### DO THIS JOB-OR GET OUT

THAT ALL GOVERNMENTS AND IN PARTICULAR THOSE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM THE UNITED STATES AND RUSSIA SHOULD UNEQUIVOCALLY STATE THAT IN NO CIRCUMSTANCES WILL THEY HENCEFORTH FIRST USE IN WAR ANY ATOMIC WEAPON.

THIS was the resolution which last week divided the Methodist Conference when discussing in London the statement on international affairs put to the conference by the Christian Citizenship Committee.

Moving an amendment that the word "first" be deleted, John Banks said:

"Week by week I speak in the open air. The Gospel is thrown back at us. The man in the street regards us as lacking in courage, lacking in a knowledge of the mind of our Master, and failing to follow the Prince of Peace."

Supporting the amendment the retiring President, Dr. Donald Soper said that devastation caused by the H-bomb was such that advocacy of its use in defence was ruled out.

### Point of no return

We had got beyond the pacifist-versus-non-pacifist argument, and reached the point of no-return. For war today was suicide and suicide was sin.

He did not think that the resolution should be watered down in order to get acceptance. The Government knew full well the moral incongruity of the hydrogen bomb and the most elemental characteristics of human decency.

We should say boldly to the Government "Do this job, or get out."

Replying to the amendment the Rev. Edward Rogers said that the word "first" had been inserted after much consideration and discussion. He knew that on the Committee a minority opposed its use, but to delete the word would alter the whole tenor of the resolution.

"The world is too small for men to play about with the hydrogen bomb, for any policies whatsoever," he continued. "We have to decide what can be done about it with men as they are, with nations as they are, and with politicians as they are."

"The resolution if amended would leave this country open to both sides," he continued. "We should become a satellite of the USSR or a dependency of the USA. If you are prepared for that, Sir, well and good."

The amendment was lost.

FOOTNOTE: The comments of Dr. Donald Soper on the conference, given this week at a meeting entitled "Methodists Must Think Again" will be reported together with speeches by Prof. Charles Coulson, FRS, The Rev. David N. Francis, MA, and the Rev. Davis Stacey, M.A., next week.

## H-bomb broadcast as a pamphlet

Professor Kathleen Lonsdale's broadcast talk, "Christian Pacifism and the H-bomb" is being issued by the Friends Peace Committee as a pamphlet.

IVAN GEFFEN.



## PEACE NEWS

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July 16 1954

### SUMIE YUKUHIRO

SUMIE YUKUHIRO has died at 13 years of age. Although her death has only occurred within the last month or two she was killed by a young airman on August 6, 1945.

Doubtless the young airman does not know about Sumie, and it is to be hoped that he never will; just as it is to be hoped that he knows nothing of the many other small girls and small boys to whom, in addition to thousands of adults, his action has since brought death.

For that young airman was a broken man years before Sumie's death occurred. He retired to the compassionate care of his co-religionists in a religious retreat; and it may be hoped that they have since been able to keep away from him any such newspapers as might contain news like that of Sumie's death.

The Reverend William Downey who bestowed the blessing of Christ upon the action of the young airman is unfortunately presumably not similarly sheltered from news of this kind.

Sumie was four years of age when the young man dropped his bomb. She was one and a half miles away from the place where it fell. She did not seem to be hurt, only terrified. She was not one of those who were sufficiently within range to be flayed alive, to be reduced to chunks of agonised imbecility, or, more fortunately, to be killed outright. She was, however, near enough to be attacked by radiation and the injuries so inflicted have stealthily done their work so that last year Sumie's illness became apparent, and now she is dead.



The number killed at Hiroshima on that August day was 78,150. Three days later, on August 9, at Nagasaki, another 73,884 were killed. These, however, were people who were killed at the time. Since then there has been a continuous toll of deaths resulting from what was done on those two days, and it is estimated that the total may amount to nearly double the figures given above, about 300,000; and among the many thousands of children included in that figure little Sumie Yukuhiro is one.

If the bomb that was dropped at Hiroshima had been an H-bomb instead of an atom bomb the number of Sumies—and parents of Sumies—destroyed would have been increased at least ten-fold; and some of the Sumies who had completely escaped death themselves might have been passing on the concealed corrosion to bring death and deformity to the girls and boys of a later generation. We can all realise therefore today that it was fortunate that the hydrogen bomb was not available.

It is available now, however; and it is being manufactured in increasing quantities on the assumption that, given a certain set of circumstances, it will be used.

Whether it should be used, and whether if it is not to be used it should be manufactured, is hardly discussed in the Parliaments of the world; it is taken for granted that it must be manufactured with a view to its possible use. It is held that by being ready to kill hundreds of thousands of helpless people we may protect ourselves, our independence, or the moral values by which we set store.

Convocations of religious leaders do discuss this thing, however, both in the East and the West, and they equally reach the conclusion that there are moral values—Christian values—to be defended; and that these values can be defended by being able to threaten to bring a cruel death to hundreds of thousands of men women and children.

With the greatest deference we submit to those who gather in parliaments and convocations to discuss these things that Sumie Yukuhiro is a relevant consideration in the matter with which they are dealing.

This is not a sentimental approach to the subject—unless it be assumed that a man can empty his being of human sentiment without becoming a brute; it is the heart of the matter. For what they are discussing is an arrangement whereby bright young men, excited by the power brought by skill wedded to mechanical achievement, shall be induced to go out and kill young Sumies, or young Katyas or Heddass.

We believe that to seek our safety, or independence, or what we choose to call our moral values, by such means as this is not a brave and unsentimental facing of realities, but is sinking into the depths of dastardliness. We do not believe that we should permit our worst enemies to turn us into dastards.

### China and UN

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER has claimed that the question of the entry of the Peking Government to UN is a moral one and that it is on moral grounds that America is in opposition.

We believe that this is an attempt to justify a decision taken on purely political grounds.

In stating that China is still at war with UN, the President seems to have forgotten the armistice which was signed amongst others by his own representatives. Nor is he correct in saying that China is demanding a repudiation of UN policy.

All that Chou En-lai has said is that in regard to Korea UN is one of the belligerents, which is true; and that in regard to Indo-China UN is not the best body to discuss the whole question, which is also true as long as Peking is excluded.

Indeed Britain has so far refused to refer Indo-China to UN.

The American attitude is contrary to the democratic principles of UN and means the rejection of a real opportunity for peacemaking.

What further proof of the peaceful intentions of the Peking Government does Eisenhower require after the behaviour of the Chinese representatives at Geneva and the assurances given by their Foreign Minister after the Delhi Conference?

The USA must not arrogate to itself the right to insist that peacemaking is only to be seen in the acceptance of American policy and leadership.

### The British attitude

NEITHER Mr. Dulles nor Mr. Bedell-Smith are present at the resumed Geneva discussions, but on urgent French representations Mr. Dulles has flown to Paris to consult with M. Mendes-France and Mr. Eden.

The attitude of America to Geneva ties up with the official pronouncements about the possible admission of the Peking Government to UN.

There are rumours that Mr. Eden and Sir Winston Churchill did not see eye to eye on this matter when it was discussed in Washington, and that the Foreign Secretary as a result of his meetings with Chou En-lai and in pursuit of his policy in S E Asia wants Britain to support the admission of Peking, while the Prime Minister, more anxious to appease America, wants the British delegate to abstain from voting.

The British Government seems to be acquiring the habit of instructing its delegate to abstain on important questions.

It may hope to evade the issue by such tactics, but it cannot evade its responsibilities.

Britain's attitude is bound to have far-reaching consequences; not only because one vote might make all the difference but because of the psychological effect on other governments.

We can only hope that the Foreign Secretary will make every effort to secure from a Cabinet, which is supposed to be divided on the issue, the decision that if the British Government is not prepared to take the lead in pressing for the admission of the Peking Government it will at least support such admission by word and vote.

### Guatemala: No hurry

THE fact-finding mission on the question of the invasion of Guatemala from Honduras was to have reported on

## BEHIND THE NEWS

July 7 to an emergency meeting of the Council of the Organisation of American States.

The UN Security Council was presumably to have reviewed the matter subsequently on the basis of the findings of the Organisation of American States.

Two days before the report was due to be considered it was denied that the fact-finding mission had been wound up but so far we have heard nothing of the meeting which was to deal with the report, nor have we heard anything of the facts that have been found.

In the meantime Mr. Dulles has announced that the new Government will be recognised by the United States as soon as it has established its effective rule over the whole country "and proved its willingness and capacity to abide by its international obligations." He foresaw little difficulty on either point.

The cynical insincerity displayed in the contrast between the UN approach to the civil war struggle in Korea and its approach to the Guatemalan civil struggle, launched from foreign territory, has already been very evident; it derives from the extent to which the West has been ready to permit UN to be used as an instrument of American power politics.

Its hypocritical basis is emphasised by the facility with which Mr. Dulles is ready to recognise a revolutionary government in Guatemala in contrast to the different standards applied to the government that had established its effective rule over China years before American policy contrived that it should be labelled an aggressor.

### "Roll back" in Central America?

THERE is one aspect of the Guatemalan affair that has so far not been commented upon.

It has had precisely the character of the crimes with which Soviet Russia has been charged, which make Russia a danger to the "free world," and which call for the "roll back" policy that Mr. Dulles has advocated, whether that "roll back" is to be achieved by cold or hot war.

There was a coup d'etat in Czechoslovakia and a Government acceptable to Russia was installed. Nobody claims that there was a military invasion of Czechoslovakia by Russia: just that it planted men, supplied arms, and used its proximity to Czechoslovakia as a means of overbearing resistance to its wishes.

All this is precisely what has taken place in regard to Guatemala, with the additional fact that there had to be an actual armed invasion across the Guatemalan frontier, a step that Russia found that it fortunately had not to take in the case of Czechoslovakia.

### Possessing ammunition

IN Parliament on June 23, Mr. Oliver Lyttelton revealed, in answer to a question from Michael Foot, that in the past twelve months 179 persons had been put to death in Kenya "for offences other than murder."

Questioned further by Richard Stokes,

the Colonial Secretary admitted that in 39 of these cases the offence for which these men or women had died was the mere "possession" of ammunition. In some of these cases there had been only "a single round."

There was no mention of any weapon; and we know, in the case of Alfaya Agufana, that no rifle or pistol was found in his possession.

There is little doubt that Alfaya Agufana would have shared the fate of these other unfortunate people, had he not been a Quaker and had not strenuous efforts been made in London on his behalf.

The figures given by Mr. Lyttelton show that we were right in supposing this case to be by no means unique; and there is no wonder that some members of the Opposition voiced their disgust with such barbarous "justice."

### Villainy?

Ammunition (only two bullets in the case of Alfaya Agufana) can very easily be "planted" on a man and subsequently "found." This can be done, and has been done (even in England) by a private enemy.

It can also be done by the police themselves; and the revelations of police conduct in Kenya has been sufficient to show that some, both European and African, are capable of almost any villainy.

For every case proved in the courts there must be an unknown number of cases which never come to light, for the atmosphere is charged with fear, hatred and sadism.

In the case of Alfaya Agufana we had good reason to believe in his complete innocence. Even so he is serving a long prison sentence. How many others, equally innocent but less fortunate in their European connections, were among the 39 persons executed for possessing ammunition?

As we have already pointed out, the possession of ammunition without the possession of a gun is very odd. A man hides his gun so well that the police cannot find it. He keeps his ammunition, apparently (one round or even two bullets) handy for them to find. It is not easy to plant a gun on a man. It might be identified and awkward questions might be asked. It might be noted as "missing"—perhaps from a police station or army barracks. People might even see you on your way to plant it. Ammunition plants are obviously ideal for compassing a man's death. We hope the Colonial Secretary's conscience will give him some trouble on this point.

And all this time the crime of carrying arms has been made compulsory for Europeans called up to commit it in the name of Law and Order. It must puzzle the African mind.

### Japan's new army

JAPAN again possesses its own army. Every army is a "defence" force but some it seems are more defensive than others. Thus the British army and the US army are more defensive than the Russian army. The Japanese army, however, is to be more defensive than them all for it is to be a "self-defence" force.

It is scheduled to reach 130,000 men in the first year. The navy is to have 15,800 men and the air force 6,280 in the same period.

There is a strong popular feeling against rearmament in Japan, as there is in Germany, but that is being over-ruled.

### LETTER FROM THE USA

By JOHN M. SWOMLEY, Jnr.

THE power struggle between the United States and the Communist bloc has reached another crisis point in the recent developments in South East Asia, particularly in Indo-China. During the Spring of 1954 American policy was one of active intervention. Reports appeared in our press that "the US has picked Indo-China as the place to stop the Communists in South East Asia, even if it means war for Americans."

The French Premier, Pierre Mendes-France has pointed out that "United States intervention was to have taken place on the request of France, April 28. The warships carrying atomic aviation material were loaded and en route. President Eisenhower was to have asked Congress April 26 for authorisation. Fortunately the project for American intervention was set aside by Britain and public opinion in the United States!"

#### Factors preventing intervention

There were many factors which prevented American intervention. The unpopularity of the recent Korean war was one.

The fact that Congress had not been consulted about the Korean war and Eisenhower's unwillingness to repeat that mistake was another.

Congressional opposition to support of French imperialism and to involvement in another war also played an important part as did the opposition of the US Army.

The Air Force and Navy apparently were ready to proceed and felt that such assistance as they could give the French would be sufficient. The Army on the other hand insisted that such action could not be decisive, that eventually foot soldiers would be needed and the Army did not want to fight in Indo-China unless fuller mobilisation were ordered.

The rumoured willingness in Washington to carry the aerial war to Chinese cities and supply lines had its effect both in the US and abroad where public opinion was un-

ready for a war with China especially since this might lead to some kind of Russian action to implement their mutual defence pact.

British and Indian opposition were also significant in preventing intervention.

From the beginning the State Department was operating on the assumption that the US would intervene in Indo-China only if the following conditions were met. John Foster

Dulles made these explicit on June 11 in Los Angeles.

1. Collective action with other nations.
2. An invitation from France.
3. Complete independence for Laos, Cambodia and Viet Nam.
4. "Evidence of concern by the United Nations".
5. Assurance that once the United States intervened France would not then withdraw from the war.

These conditions made it clear that the United States although vigorously pushing its position was not prepared either to flout world public opinion or to get itself out on a branch which might be sawed off behind it.

#### Negotiation replaces threats

Events in France with the fall of the Laniel Government and the election of Mendes-France who pledged a negotiated peace, coupled with a worsening military situation in Indo-China and continued Anglo-Indian opposition to American policy have made virtually impossible any American military intervention in Indo-China. This in turn has made it seem to the Communist bloc that it is only a matter of time until Indo-China can be made completely Communist.

In any event, at this writing, negotiations at Geneva and elsewhere are proceeding along lines probably carefully planned by the Viet Minh forces. In Laos and Cambodia where native anti-Communist regimes and the French have almost complete control, the Viet-Minh had sent some troops. They are offering to withdraw these troops and recognize the present regimes if the French withdraw their troops and if all parties agree

that US garrisons and bases will not replace the French.

Elections which would come some time after a cease fire would according to sources on both sides give the Communists either direct control of Vietnam or a strong position in a coalition government from which they could easily take over full control.

US officials have been angered at a number of developments such as the abandonment by the French of some of the staunchest anti-Communist regions in the North to Viet-Minh forces, the lack of continuing information about French intentions in Indo-China and French attitudes toward the Communists. For example, the Pentagon on July 4, indicated consideration was being given to halting arms shipments to the French since the US had no information whether France would pull out of Northern Indo-China leaving the military equipment to the Communists. Similarly on July 4 The New York Times reported:

"What United States officials would like to know is whether the relationship between the French and the Communists has changed during the continuing crisis of the last several months and whether the Washington-Paris alliance will have to be modified as a result."

It is obvious that American policy must to some extent be fluid until negotiations between France and the Viet Minh are over

and some clear picture in Indo-China has emerged. On the other hand the US Government is apparently determined to establish a SEATO—South East Asian Treaty Organisation—along the lines of NATO.

Churchill and Eisenhower in one section of their Washington agreement said:

"We urge the establishment and maintenance of such associations as will best, in their respective regions preserve the peace and independence of the people living there."

This does not mean that Britain is at present ready to join a SEATO pact. But it did give the green light to Australia, New Zealand and the United States who on June 30 agreed "on the need for immediate action to bring about the early establishment of collective defence in South East Asia."

Thailand (Siam) has already announced that she would join the proposed SEATO and would welcome SEATO troops on her soil to prevent Communist aggression there. The Philippines is the only other Asian nation likely to join SEATO though Britain may join because of Malaya and the pressures from the US, Australia and New Zealand.

#### US moves to establish SEATO

The House of Representatives has already voted \$800,000,000 for President Eisenhower to use when and where needed for defence against Communism in South East Asia.

In one sense a SEATO pact would be a long range programme to be accomplished after the future status of Indo-China is settled at Geneva. But there is also a possibility that it would attempt to guarantee the independence of Laos and Cambodia from Communist infiltration, thus precipitating very soon after an Indo-China settlement a race for control of these states and therefore the danger of military conflict.

Mr. Swomley's letter will discuss next week some of the problems and dangers which would result from a South East Asian military pact.

## April 28 was to have been A-bomb day



## THANK YOU PROFESSOR



**PACIFISTS** all over Britain sat mouths agape with disbelief before their wireless sets last week. For the first time since anybody has been able to remember a real live pacifist was giving to the radio public some real live pacifism. Twenty magnificent minutes of no-punch-pulling condemnation of violence and a heartening exposition of the case for creative peace-making.

It was Kathleen Lonsdale.

In addition to teaching chemistry at London University, keeping up with affairs of the Royal Society of which she is a Fellow, the Society of Friends, of which she is a member, and the Association of Atomic Scientists, of which she is a Vice-President, she finds time to be active on behalf of the Peace Pledge Union, Toldas, The Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

Last in the list, but first in her heart, come the husband and three children for whom she cares.

After last Monday's broadcast a Peace News reader felt so grateful that he sent a donation to us: "thank Professor Lonsdale on my behalf," he asks.

We can think of no better way of thanking her than helping to further the work of the paper with which she is so closely associated and for which she so generously contributes.

You know our address if you want to take this practical way of saying, "Thank you Professor."

TOM WARDLE

Contributions since July 2: £54 9s. 4d.  
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so widely raised in the churches by the H-bomb.

Twenty miles away, in Holbeach (pop. 6,111), Lincs., the Methodist minister Rev. Arthur Bows, and the Vicar, Canon P. E. Boswell have earned the thanks of local people for bringing the H-bomb campaign to their doorstep.

Members of churches, chapels, the Labour Party, the Youth Centre Management Committee, the Workers Educational Association Branch and one or two trade union branches have come together to form the Holbeach Anti-H-bomb Committee.

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## MORE REPORTS OF BRITAIN v. THE H-BOMB

## Councillor leads H-bomb demonstration in Salisbury

"WE ARE AGAINST PEOPLE BEING DECEIVED"

WILTSHIRE pacifists picketed Salisbury Guildhall last Wednesday when a Civil Defence display attended by the Mayor of Salisbury and Brigadier A. R. Baker (CD Officer for Wiltshire) was staged there.

Carrying posters, the demonstrators lined the steps and handed out leaflets to people attending the meeting.

The Southern Daily Echo carried a long report the following day from a staff reporter who said:

Mr. A. D. Underwood, schoolmaster member of Amesbury Rural District Council who was one of the demonstrators, told me they represented the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Peace Pledge Union and the National H-bomb Campaign.

When I asked him if they were demonstrating against Civil Defence, Mr. Underwood replied: "No. We are against people being deceived into believing there is any defence against the H-bomb."

Civil Defence officers walked from the Guildhall before the meeting and chatted to the demonstrators. They invited them inside, and the demonstrators later accepted.

### Only H.E. bombs

Brigadier Barker, referring to "our other guests outside," said at the opening of the meeting that he thought they had a certain amount of sympathy with the demonstrators.

"We all want to ban the H-bomb, but I think there is a little confusion. They ought not to be picketing the Guildhall at Salisbury, they ought to be picketing the Kremlin in Moscow."

After referring to the effects of the H-bomb "quite the most terrifying thing the world has ever known"—Brigadier Barker spoke of the role Wiltshire would probably take in the event of war.

The H-bomb was an expensive weapon and difficult to explode, he said, and it was unlikely that it would be wasted on the Wiltshire downs.

There was a question from one of the "unofficial demonstrators." Why were they talking about ordinary high explosive bombs. Isn't it unlikely that sort of bomb will be used?

Brigadier Barker: Russia has 20,000 'planes, none of which can carry anything else but high explosive bombs. Why is it unlikely?

The questioner said he understood the demonstration was dealing with atomic bombs. What defence was there against radioactivity?

Brigadier Barker: You should come to our atomic bomb demonstration.

The questioner challenged the view that Wiltshire would not be subjected to H-bomb raids.

Both sides got down to discussing what would happen if an atomic bomb fell on the village of Porton.

### Best plan: scrap weapons

Councillor Austin Underwood, BEM, who worked in London's ARP service in 1940, told Peace News after the demonstration:

"Despite large posters everywhere and announcements in the press, only a handful of people attended the Guildhall afternoon performance and six the evening."

"Outside the Guildhall, good-natured argument was had with the Assistant CD Officer for the County who agreed that it would obviously be the best plan to scrap the weapons of destruction—but who's to start it first?" he asked.

"The afternoon audience were treated to a demonstration of 'How the Welfare Services will work' with a model village being taken as an example of an 'incident'."

"Such childish behaviour then followed that one had difficulty in believing that one was not attending some farce in ridicule of the Civil Defence of this country."

"Here and there in the audience sat people with tin hats ready and labels tied round their necks with such things as 'Billetting' written on and who represented various officers in the local CD Corps."

"An ordinary high explosive (no assumption of atom weapons was allowed!) had hit a house, the house of Mr. Maloney, we were told."

"One of the audience however, referred to it as 'all Baloney' when a dear old soul tripped forward, tin hat on head, picked up a piece of red cotton-wool beside a model house and reading from a script, said, 'Ah, a fire, I must report it to my Control Officer.'—To instructor, 'Is it out of control?'—'Yes, it's out of control!'—'Ah, I must report a fire out of control!'"

### Whose side?

"Then followed a description of 'How the Hospitals and Nursing Services will do their stuff' which was begun by the Assistant CD Training Officer for the County saying, 'We are told that we can expect a three week preparatory period before raiding will take place!'"

"At the evening 'performance' there was an attendance of six people! Anti-H-bomb demonstrators distributed 'Civil Defence and the Hydrogen Bomb' leaflets outside in the Guildhall Square to persons who listened to the band concert taking place there."

"Before doing so one of our company asked a policeman on duty at the Guildhall whether he could distribute them. Cursorily reading the title and assuming they were CD leaflets he made the amazing remark, 'Oh, yes, they're all right, you are on our side, we had the opposition here this afternoon!' It made us wonder—whose is the policeman's side?"

"So bad was the attendance even of CD Corps members in the evening that when

of our number, a member of the Amesbury Parish Council, entered, she was immediately buttonholed by an official who, on learning that she had travelled from Amesbury, a distance of eight miles, to see the demonstration, became most interested and asked her to play one of the parts which had been read from the script at the afternoon session!

"We came away from both sessions wondering, who are they trying to deceive, themselves or the public? What a sheer waste of public money for training from obsolete manuals on lines which we forgot immediately the 1940 blitz on London started."

\* Porton: Village on Salisbury Plain near Britain's Germ Warfare research station. Councillor Underwood joined with the Non-violent Resistance Group in a demonstration there last year. It wound up with a big open-air meeting outside Salisbury Guildhall.

### Important question

"WITHOUT going into the argument whether war defends or not—what are you willing to have defended by napalm burning and blasting of other families?"

Christopher Young, of King's Lynn, put this question to a member of the staff of one of Britain's oldest religious weekly newspapers, and offered to send her Peace News each week for a year to help her make up her mind, an offer which was accepted.

"I should like to see this question put before the Methodist Conference," Christopher Young told Peace News.

We look for courage and chivalry from soldiers. Are we civilians too timid and selfish to die rather than survive with the bombed bodies of our fellow-men, women and children lying dead in other countries?

### Holbeach unites

Christopher Young is not the only person in East Anglia pressing home the moral issues

## The Germans and rearmament

### GROWING OPPOSITION

I SPENT two weeks travelling through Western Germany in March, when the Berlin Four Power Conference had only recently ended. The communique issued by the Western Powers that the Conference was a "failure" and had been "fruitless" was accepted in West Germany at its face value.

There was plenty of evidence that the people were anxious for Germany to be united peacefully. They had voted for Adenauer in the elections in September 1953 partly because he had stressed the need for a unified Germany which he promised to bring about by peaceful means. On the day after the elections when he announced that East Germany and all the lands where Germans had lived before the war must be reconquered, they felt they had been betrayed, and were bitterly disappointed.

They had hoped that the Berlin Four Power Conference would find some practical way to unite Germany peacefully. Instead they learned that a series of proposals made at the Conference had been rejected. The proposals for meetings of persons controlling various aspects of the economic and cultural and social life in East and West Germany for the purpose of working out arrangements for co-ordination and co-operation had been brushed aside. Proposals for all German elections were rejected before the details of the machinery for holding such elections were even considered. Proposals for a referendum on EDC or the Peace Treaty were summarily dismissed. The resulting reaction of the German people was to discredit the concept of solving the German problem by negotiations.

### Widespread opposition

There was widespread opposition to German rearmament. Except for a small percentage of the population consisting mainly of ex-army officers who were working as tramguards, ticket sellers, waiters and in other glamorous occupations, and some refugees, the West Germans did not want to be rearmed.

Various attempts had been made to hold a plebiscite on the subject, but they had all been labelled "Communist" and suppressed. A daily newspaper had invited its readers to write in and say that they would join a new German army. A total of 40 ex-officers and 10 ex-NCOs sent in their names.

Any mention of conscription met with universal hostility. Germans have been conscripted for decades, and the period since the end of World War II is the longest respite they have had from compulsory military training.

I gathered that conscription was not something people got used to but something they disliked in proportion to the length of time it has been imposed on them.

The feeling in West Germany seemed to be thoroughly defeatist. Yes, of course, they want a united Germany but the occupying powers could not agree about it so what could anyone do?

Late in May I again visited West Germany. The atmosphere was different. The people

seemed to be throwing off their fatalistic attitude to events in Germany. Opinions were crystallising on the proposals made at the Berlin Four Power Conference. Subsequent events had shown that the Conference had not been a "failure" or "fruitless."

The Geneva Conference, with China as a participating Power, was being held as a result of the Berlin Conference. Their faith in the concept of negotiations was being restored. They were examining the proposals for the unification of Germany that had been made at the Berlin Conference. Hope was reviving in establishing a peacefully united Germany. This hope was percolating through the different strata of people in Germany.

### Changed attitude

Groups of doctors, teachers, farmers, factory workers, etc., from East and West Germany, were conferring with each other; differences in their social systems and institutions were being carefully considered with a view to finding common ground for co-operation. This changed attitude was reflected in the West German Government's announcement that it would not prevent West German youth attending a Youth Festival in East Berlin since it did not wish to give the appearance of keeping Germany divided.

The opposition against EDC was taking more definite forms. As I have said, in March I found a pretty general intellectual opposition to the rearming of Germany. In May practical activity against EDC had developed in the pacifist groups and women's and other organisations.

Minister Blank had invited all who wished to join a new German Army to send in their names. 120,000 did so. When these figures were broken down 40,000 were ex-NCOs, 30,000 ex-officers, 30,000 were from the Military Administration. There were only 20,000 who had not served before, and these included refugees and a number of unemployed.

JESSIE STREET

### BBC talks on Underdeveloped Countries

A series of talks on the underdeveloped territories are to be broadcast on the BBC's Third Programme in July under the title "Technological Change in Backward Areas."

### Come to the doghouse door boys!

From Conscription News, USA

THE US Government's Controller General, Lindsay C. Warren, on March 14, cited the building of a doghouse by Maj. Gen. Roderick Allen at a cost of \$1200 as a typical small item of waste and extravagance. The doghouse was for several Siberian Huskies the General owned and was constructed with Army funds at Fort Dix, N.J. General Allen expressed surprise at the criticism and said, "If the Army asks me to pay for it I will gladly do so."

Since other generals draw on taxpayers' money for their personal hobbies and expenses it could be argued that this too is essential to National Defence. After all, the nation must keep up the sagging morale of its generals in peacetime!

## The Times said it

From a leading article, June 10, 1954.

"VERY soon almost every kind of aircraft will be potentially the carrier of a mass destruction weapon, capable of converting a local war into a global conflict. Captain Liddell Hart has lately suggested that it is becoming questionable whether a nation can now contemplate any air force action at all, with ordinary high-explosive bombs, at any distance behind the enemy's front lines, without risk of the aircraft being mistaken for an H-bomber heading for the interior and precipitating massive retaliation from the other side."

"It has been clear for some time that atomic bombers, in the process of deterring global aggression, are likely to increase the frequency of local wars. Is it impossible that in the process they may end by sounding the knell of air attack altogether, even of the tactical kind?"

## Violence in children's literature

From Patricia Hutchins

"THERE is no fun in being a writer unless we try something difficult" Naomi Mitchison said in conclusion to an interesting discussion on violence in children's literature which was organised by the Children's Panel of the Author's World Peace Appeal at the National Book League recently.

How, she had asked, are we to deal with the undeniable "wolf in the soul" and yet preserve the valuable adventurous, competitive and comradely element which appeals so much to the young.

She hoped children would eventually grow up to believe in peace as the normal rather than the exceptional state of the world. The way in which the reality of death and disease was hushed up in much of urban life was a bad influence and in her own historical and adventure stories she tried to fit violence into a moral framework.

Leila Berg, in reply to the paper, stressed the responsibility of the writer in passing on that wisdom and experience of life which can do much to prepare the child for the adult world.

A distinction should be made between violence which arose from exuberance and that which resulted in cruelty. Another problem was to avoid the creation or encouragement of morbidity.

In conclusion, Eleanor Graham mentioned the need for truth. Space fiction could well distort the young child's approach to reality. Power without limit, materialism in fact, attacked the fundamental dignity of man so that what could only be called the voice of the spirit went unheard. Writers, publishers, teachers and librarians took part in the discussion and it is hoped to arrange future meetings, illustrated by readings.

### THE LIBRARY HELPED

THE importance of getting Peace News into public libraries as part of the H-bomb campaign is well illustrated by a letter from Gloucester.

The writer had seen a copy of Peace News in the public library and wrote into PN office asking to be put in touch with local peace workers.

Also from Gloucestershire has come a request for H-bomb leaflets from J. Philip Morris of Bank Cottage, Bredon, Tewkesbury who writes, "There is a group of us who hope to get things moving in the right direction in the Tewkesbury and Cheltenham area soon."

### QUOTES, AND A . . .

I believe there are more instances of the abridgement of the freedom of the people by gradual and silent encroachments of those in power than by violent and sudden usurpations.—J. Madison.

"Walter E. Hoadley, Jr., economist for Armstrong Cork Company, Lancaster, Pa., solemnly told the annual US Chamber of Commerce meeting that the H-bomb could contribute to the economic growth by increasing 'the tendency of many individuals to adopt a shorter term outlook on life.'"

"To Mr. Hoadley, this means consumers will now proceed to increase their living standards substantially over the years ahead worrying more about increasing their comforts now than securing their futures."

"It apparently was the first time any economist of stature has translated the awesome proportions of the hydrogen bomb into an encouraging sales potentiality."—Retailers Daily, USA, April 28, 1954, quoted by Freedom.

### . . . FLASHBACK

I always enjoy George Orwell's column in Tribune, but I disagreed strongly with his opening remarks last week. "Some journalists are denouncing them (flying bombs) as barbarous, inhumane, and 'an indiscriminate attack on civilians.' After what we have been doing to the Germans over the last two years, this seems a bit thick . . ."

An intelligent man like Orwell really oughtn't to talk like a Peace Pledger. There is surely an appreciable difference in principle between these flying bombs, which are necessarily aimed only vaguely and may fall anywhere, and RAF raids, which do kill thousands of civilians incidentally, but are aimed primarily—for reasons of economy and strategy if not of humanity—at military and industrial targets.

—Tom Driberg in Reynolds News, quoted in Peace News for July 14, 1944.



# POLITICS IN THE GOLD COAST

George Houser, American race relations worker and member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, arrived in Accra on the Gold Coast on June 15, polling day for the first All-African Legislative Assembly.

Here he reports his impressions after his first fortnight there.

There is an inescapable sense of purposeful political organisation and movement here. The city was alive with voting activity on the day I arrived.

Although only about 60 per cent. of the registered electorate actually cast a vote, it must be borne in mind that the vast majority of people in the Gold Coast live in villages.

In one village I visited on Election Day, people had to walk as far as six miles to reach the polling station. One group of voters were held up for hours at a swollen stream (this being rainy season) because the canoe upon which they depended for crossing had a leak.

At an open field called the Polo Grounds in Accra there were eighteen to twenty thousand people gathered on election night to hear the election returns. Most of these people stood from about 9 p.m. until 3.30 a.m. listening to returns and waiting for Kwame Nkrumah to appear following the announcement of his election.

The organisation of the Convention People's Party, whose leader is the present Prime Minister, is most impressive.

As has already been widely reported in the press all over the world, the CPP won 71 out of 104 possible seats in the first All-African Legislative Assembly the Gold Coast has ever had.

None of the opposition parties can begin to match the skill and thoroughness with which the CPP is organised.

This party has 87 loud-speaker vans used constantly around the country. They have a party flag. They have the practised use of the word "freedom" as a form of greeting.

They hold mass meetings regularly attended by thousands of people in the larger centres. All the parties agree on self-government. There seem to be no major ideological divisions at this point among political leaders.

But the CPP has the organisation to achieve success in the political arena.

The people of the Gold Coast have a sense of destiny. Many of them talk about Nkrumah as their Moses leading them to freedom.

★

But it is not the people of the Gold Coast alone who will be liberated, but next all of West Africa, and they hope all of Africa. There seems to be no blue-print to achieve this goal—one step at a time is enough. The first step is independence here. Then will come a West African Federation, perhaps a loose and informal one, but one

within which there will be an understanding and a good working relationship. A beginning can be made with Liberia and British territory. French territory will be included later.

World consciousness is only just beginning to develop. I was surprised to discover that the average person here has very little information about racial segregation in the United States, for instance.

The people have been struggling for their own freedom so determinedly that they have not looked far outside of their own boundaries. Nevertheless there is uncompromising opposition to Malanism in South Africa and speakers at political rallies can win a ready response when they condemn Apartheid.

When I asked Nkrumah what he thought the role of an independent Gold Coast should be *vis a vis* the power struggle between the US and Russia on the international scene, he unhesitatingly responded that it should be similar to that of India, not tied to either side. This would be backed by most of the people here.

★

There are terrific problems lying ahead for the Gold Coast. One has the impression that with the political education which seems to be taking place, and the development of new leadership, the future of the Gold Coast is secure.

The present government is in the hands of what has been called a youth movement. The leaders of the CPP are almost all in their 30s or early 40s. But the problems are immense.

It is estimated that 90 per cent. of the people are still illiterate. Economically the country depends upon cocoa for about 60 per cent. of its exports. What would happen if the cocoa market fell drastically?

Politically there are signs of division and it is impossible to tell where this may lead.

By  
**George Houser**

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, 45, Prime Minister of the Gold Coast, is the first Negro ever to become Prime Minister of any British colony. He was educated in mission schools and Achimota College, later going to Lincoln University in the United States. He has taken four degrees.

He returned to the Gold Coast in 1947 and in 1949 formed the Convention People's Party, the present government. Dr. Nkrumah had the distinction of being brought from jail to assume office as Prime Minister of the Gold Coast after the elections of 1951. He had been sentenced by the British authorities for calling a non-violent general strike.

Although the CPP won 68.5 per cent. of the seats in the Assembly, they only got 54.9 per cent. of the popular vote. When this opposition is better organised will the CPP deal with it creatively or attempt to squelch it by undemocratic methods as some fear?

But these problems form the challenge of the future. Nkrumah told me that without non-violence the CPP could not have brought the country to the point it is now; and he expected its role to be a non-violent one in the future.



## REPORT FROM CHINA

Through the Chinese Revolution, by Ralph and Nancy Lapwood. Spalding and Levy Ltd., 10s. 6d.

OF the books dealing with the Chinese People's Republic that have come my way during the last two years or so, this seems to me much the best.

It is by two missionaries on the staff of a Christian University who were able to stay on till late in 1952, after having spent some 20 years in China—excluding the childhood years of one of them.

It is thus no report of a hurried visit by persons without the knowledge of the language

and background which is necessary for an understanding of what is seen and heard.

The early chapters deal with things seen in the China preceding this latest Revolution: the grim conditions in port factories, comparable to the worst records of the early days of the Industrial Revolution in this country, the livelihood of the peasants, suggesting the nasty, short and brutish life commonly associated with the word serf, though technically not applicable, the atrocious treatment of the Nationalist conscripts in the war against Japan. None of this is over-drawn.

The later chapters deal with the usual run of topics: agricultural reform and rural conditions in general, the development and expansion of industry and its internal relationships, transport, education, government administration, political organisation, foreign policy, the Christian churches, etc. etc.

An admirably high proportion of what is recounted derives from direct observation and

In more detail, his categorical charge is levelled at crowded maximum security fortresses, while he advocates more minimum security and farm-type institutions. And the humanitarianism of his cry for abolition is diluted by his assumption (is it as casual as he makes it?) that certain psychopathic individuals have to be locked up forever.

Mr. Martin is realistic enough to know that a real reform of prisons must await an understanding of the causes of crime. Here, in 20th century style, he puts his hope in research. He has looked into the various examinations of crime and its causes and, while he favours psychiatry, he finds a place for sociology, biology and, I suppose, even the efforts of interested laymen. He does not tackle the bigger social and economic solutions to crime: an end of poverty and unemployment, a transferring of men's energies for war into a building of utopia. But perhaps he feels improvement in our prisons cannot wait upon this long-term goal.

Mr. Martin's comments are, of necessity, brief, but they are the brevity of one who has examined and thought carefully.

STEPHEN SITEMAN.

## BOOKS

experience. An effort has clearly been made to give an honest record, with nothing deliberately concealed. It is clear, however, to use one of their own phrases, that the authors are "emotionally involved." Consequently, it seems not unfair to say, at times they praise with faint blame when dealing with such matters as the inculcation of a hate so intense that a naturally kindly person delights in seeing the execution of "enemies."

The second chapter and many other passages make it clear that the authors are not pacifists. That is perhaps why they feel it proper to condone anything if it can be shown to be the (though this would spray an odour of sanctity even over McCarthyism) outcome of "wartime psychology." Probably most of the differences in the judgments of the reviewer and of the authors stem from this difference of basic conviction. That, of course, does not detract from the reliability of the book.

The facts are there and the discerning reader can form his own evaluations, which may not always be those of the authors. For instance, it is clear that the "Oxford Group" features of the new regime's practices (as I have called them from my first acquaintance with them) appeal strongly to the Lapwoods—some readers will probably react differently. Nevertheless there can be no doubt that they do rightly succeed in making the point that only a negligible percentage of the population would prefer the old regime back. L. TOMKINSON.

## AMERICAN PRISONS

Break down the Walls, by John Bartlow Martin. Ballantine Books, New York, \$3.50

JOHN BARTLOW MARTIN is a Chicago journalist, who has become, with the publication of BUTCHER'S DOZEN, MY LIFE IN CRIME, WHY DID THEY KILL? and now BREAK DOWN THE WALLS, one of America's foremost (and, let us quickly add, sympathetic) authorities on crime and the people enmeshed in it.

The first part of Mr. Martin's book is taken up with a dramatic account of the riot at Jackson, Michigan, in 1952, one of a fire-cracker string of riots that exploded in the United States that year. He devotes the middle of his book to a discussion of America's prison system, how it grew, and its past and present faults. He then gets down to his own opinion of prisons and what to do about them. It is: Prisons are no damn good. They should be abolished.

## The Psychic Arm

By George Bush and Howard Hutchins

PROFESSOR EINSTEIN is reported to have said that there is a greater danger for humanity than the hunger that threatened the world, or even the atom bomb. This was the "Psychic Arm," by means of which those who govern a nation or any group of nations can condition populations to an acceptance of the necessity for a war.

Which of these three evils is the greatest menace is perhaps open to doubt. There is a difference between them insofar as the first two threats are everywhere acknowledged but the "Psychic Arm" is a threat which is likely to be disputed, since we are mostly unaware of its existence.

We sometimes recognise the complaint in other people, but rarely detect any of the symptoms in ourselves.

When we consider atomic war, surely it is true that those who govern need no longer condition or consult their peoples. The small but all-powerful minorities called "our governments," now having atom bombs at their disposal, can use them just when they wish, without much concern as to the approval or disapproval of the masses.

Certainly the governed have been persuaded by the "Psychic Arm" to accept crippling taxation, from which the money for the creation of these tools of destruction has been provided. It would seem that all the population can do now is go down on their knees and pray the persons in control to be so kind as to promise to lock the bombs in a cupboard and throw away the key. To date these prayers have gone unheeded; the suppliants have been told to mind their own business.

If a humble petition is rejected, what can be done to enforce rulers to obey orders? Furthermore, even assuming such a petition was granted, what would be the value of such a promise?

It seems to us that all pacts, limitations and bannings, all verbal and written agreements either between a government and its people or one government and another are completely useless. Obviously, if there is the intention never to use a thing, then there is no use in having it at all.

The only way out of the dilemma would appear to be to demolish completely all factories which can make bombs, destroy all relative books and records, then kill off all scientists who have any knowledge of nuclear fission. Of course, it is, above all, necessary to destroy the bombs. The scientists, the bombs and the records could all go together in one "Operation Disposal."

Without this unlikely event there remains the menace in the cupboards, ready and waiting for some irrational and irresponsible person or persons to make bad use of it. A very serious thought. As Mr. Churchill has said—"Mankind has gone to great trouble to produce the bomb. But getting rid of it is going to be even greater trouble."

★

A PART from atomic war, Professor Einstein is undoubtedly right in saying that the "Psychic Arm" is the greatest threat to humanity by means of which a nation can be conditioned to accept war as a necessity.

It is certain that, if they wish to do so, those who rule are able to convince people that black is in fact white; that which is manifestly harmful, is beneficial, servitude is freedom, and aggression is defence.

It is almost impossible to see through these subtleties, and if one succeeds in turning the sort of mental somersault which is required, one doubts one's conclusions when confronted by mass opinion. Moreover, it is extremely wearing to keep on turning somersaults.

We have reached a state of society in which it is "immoral" to stand aside, to contract out. Maybe your different opinion is grudgingly admitted to be right, but to act upon it would be quite immoral. The only right way to act, is everybody else's way of acting. If, in spite of all that is said, a person is still different, that person usually has a feeling of guilt and tries hard to justify such conduct to himself and others, thus admitting how deeply conditioning has penetrated.

★

MOST of us regard conscientious objection as a duty to our fellowmen, whilst others go to war on exactly the same principle. Few pacifists or non-pacifists, could agree with a person whose attitude was "I have other things to do which, for myself, are more important than my fellow-men." Suppose these things to be absolutely good of themselves, nevertheless it is a shameful attitude, quite "unrealistic." A popular "Psychic Arm" word, meaning out of step with the teachings of a given society.

D. H. Lawrence says somewhere—"I don't know what you mean by 'ought.' If I really want to kick, if I know I can't stand a thing, I kick. Who's going to authorise me if my own genuine feeling doesn't?" Who? Why, The Psychic Arm.



# Britain v. The H-bomb

● From page three

"The campaign has got off to a good start," the Hon. Sec., Merle Boddy, of 23 Albert Street, told Peace News last week.

"Petition forms are in all the churches and chapels. Many people are doing door-to-door canvassing and the cinema manager agreed to flash an appeal on the screen for three nights running."

The local press had given the Committee a good write up. Headline: "All should sign H-bomb petition—says Methodist Minister."

"We feel that perhaps the most encouraging thing about the campaign here is the way many people who would never dream of calling themselves pacifists have become really enthusiastic about the petition," Merle Boddy continued.

"Frequently in private conversations with members of the committee the vital step from banishment of the H-bomb to total disarmament can at least be visualised, if not taken. A great step forward."

The committee are hoping to organise a poster parade and public meeting in the town.

## Valuable work by Quakers

THROUGHOUT Britain Quakers, members of the Religious Society of Friends, are planning a number of activities as their part of the campaign by British pacifists against the H-bomb and war.

One Meeting has recently ordered 20,000 leaflets for door-to-door distribution.

Another invited all the ministers of religion in the town to meet at the Friends Meeting House to discuss the nature of the Christian witness in relation to war and the H-bomb. "A helpful and understanding conference resulted and this is likely to lead to fresh activity," say the Friends Peace Committee.

At a holiday resort members are giving up part of their August Bank Holiday in order to support an open-air meeting on the sea front.

At yet another Quaker meeting the Meeting House has been open every evening since the beginning of June and Quakers have sat there "quietly strengthening one another and seeking to know the Will of God." Now they are planning a programme of public activity, which will include a large public meeting in which other organisations in the town will be expected to co-operate.

Quakers in Colchester are hoping to co-operate with the Non-violent Resistance Group and local pacifists in an "Objective Peace" demonstration in the autumn similar to that at Woolwich this month.

## Pipe band for Trafalgar Square rally in September

A PIPE band is to lead a big London march on Saturday, September 4, when members of the Peace Pledge Union, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and other pacifist organisations will join with Quakers in a "Renounce the H-bomb" rally in Trafalgar Square.

After the meeting there is to be a peace exhibition, bookstall and buffet open in the nearby Westminster Friends Meeting House in St. Martin's Lane. This will be followed by an "Any Questions" meeting in the evening.

## Neutrality for Britain.

WITH reference to the "Third Camp Movement," as mentioned in Peace News, I have for some years advocated an alliance for peace and neutrality between the three most important and strongest Western European Powers, i.e. Britain, France and Germany.

Two prominent Germans have spoken, Dr. Bruening and Dr. Rauschning. The latter was President of Danzig, an opponent of Hitler and is now an American citizen. Both these prominent men oppose Dr. Adenauer's policy of integration of Germany into the western camp and rearmament. Both advocate a peaceful approach to Russia, disarmament and neutrality. Only then they say can Germany hope to achieve unity between eastern and western sections of her territory.

Now if Britain, France and Germany could come to an understanding, and form a neutral block in Western Europe, which will have nothing to do with either American or Russian power politics, this block would be sufficiently strong and important, to ensure its neutrality. The three powers could ensure peace for their people. The age-long hostility between France and Germany would cease, and in fact war in Europe anyway would become impossible. I am convinced that Russia would accept the new situation, and would under no circumstances wish to attack Western Europe. America could withdraw from Europe.

The present state of affairs, with Germany occupied by foreign troops, and with the attempt of both camps trying to draw Germany on to their side, is fraught with great dangers. A strong neutral block in western Europe would ensure peace in our time.

AUGUSTUS VINCENT.

45 Wilton Place, Knightsbridge, S.W.1.

## Catholics and the H-Bomb

TWICE recently you have displayed, in a prominent "box" quotations from (Roman) Catholic papers on atomic bombs. These quotations have been very shocking and it is right that they should be exposed; but it should in fairness be pointed out that they are in no sense official.

The quotation you gave recently from the Catholic Gazette was attacked and exposed in the Catholic Herald, both by the Editor and by a number of correspondents; the quotation from Stella Maris has also been exposed and condemned by prominent Catholics. To omit to mention these things, in the circumstances, makes it appear that Peace News is indulging in rather unpacific attacks on the Catholic Church—a body in which, it is good to see, pacifist thought is growing quite rapidly today.

(Rev.) GEOFFREY PAGET KING.

Steenhouse House, 16 Aberdeen Road, N.5.

## Limits of military obedience

I HAVE read with amazement the quotation from the Catholic magazine, Stella Maris, that "Unless and until the Church should pronounce the Hydrogen bomb, or any other weapon, to be intrinsically evil, it would be an officer's duty to obey orders, as regards the use of these terrible things."

In the "Primer of Peace and War," by Father Plater, MA, SJ, published in 1915 under the imprimatur of the Vicar-General of the Archdiocese of Westminster, the limits of military obedience are thus defined:

"Nobody in any circumstances is justified in acting against his conscience, i.e. in doing something which he judges here and now to be wrong . . . Conscience, in the language of the moralist, is the supreme subjective standard of morality."

"If the command is clearly against the moral law, he has no option but to refuse obedience and face the consequences."

"Any healthy conscience will revolt at an order, e.g. to shoot women and children."

The Editor of Stella Maris is well aware that the Hydrogen bomb is designed for the wholesale destruction of men, women and children. If he has authority for his present views, then

# Letters to the Editor

July 16, 1954, PEACE NEWS—5

the teachings of the unchangeable Church have been slightly changed since 1915.

It would be well for Catholic officers to remember that a German submarine officer who pleaded superior orders for firing upon British seamen, whose ship had been sunk, was tried by a British court and was duly hanged; and that the Manual of Military Law requires a man to disobey an order which violates the human conscience.

F. O'HANLON.

St. Michael's, Hayling Rise, Worthing.

## The BBC and arms for Germany

ON the question of the BBC's "discussion" on German rearmament, I note that your complacent editorial attitude was not supported by your correspondent who timed the broadcast and showed how heavily it was weighted in favour of German rearmament. Now, as regards giving at least one British contribution which showed a sympathetic understanding of the Soviet point of view: We had plenty of British contributions giving the American point of view, and as we have a Twenty-Year Alliance with the USSR, and as the USSR suffered from Nazi militarism more than we and the USA put together, surely it was not unreasonable for our Society to make the request we did—that a British speaker should have been included who had a sympathetic understanding of the Soviet view.

Incidentally, in reply to our resolution, the BBC tells us that Mr. Wills quoted the French Communist view. But as the British Government has no Twenty Year Treaty with the French Communist Party, but has a Twenty Year Treaty with the USSR, I still maintain that it was an insult to our Soviet ally not to include a contribution on the Soviet view of the subject.

PAT SLOAN.

British Soviet Friendship Society,

36 Spencer Street, E.C.1.

(Our correspondent omits to deal with our suggestion that it is equally desirable that the Russian-British Friendship Society should press for facilities on the Russian radio system for a statement of the official British view on the arming of East Germany and the Eastern bloc.—Ed. PN.)

## Labour MPs

I AM sorry to see Cyril Hughes' statement in Peace News that "No Labour MP would risk his reputation as a responsible citizen over such trivial matters as these." The matters referred to are Guatemala, cost of living, Dr. Cort, rearming of Germany, the H-bomb experiments, and old age pensions.

Quite apart from the little band of Pacifist Labour members there are many others who constantly raise their voices in such matters.

ERIC BROWN.

12 Lakeside, Enfield, Middlesex.

## New Zealand's COs

IN your issue of June 4 you publish a report from New Zealand by Peter Love. We wish to rectify what seems to us a wrong impression of the Conscientious Objection Committee which hears the appeals of those objecting to Military Training.

The report states that, "Their cases are heard by a committee, usually of five or six men, all of whom are military minded and therefore biased."

This is not the situation as we know it. The personnel of the Committee consists of the Secretary appointed by the Crown, the Chairman, who is a Magistrate, as well as two other members. One of the members is a minister in the Anglican Church and, although not a pacifist, has proved to be most understanding of the problems of the CO. Under no circumstances would we use the words, "military minded and therefore biased."

It is correct that there have been unfortunate

decisions which have caused the N.Z. Conscientious Objectors' Advisory Board some concern. We have taken steps to see if this matter can be rectified. We remember, however, the impossible task the Conscientious Objection Committee is set to do. It is obvious that there must be mistakes made when it comes to judging another man's conscience. The important thing is that, we as pacifists, should accept our difficulties with a positive spirit.

Our Board has heard many cases and is doing a considerable amount to help appellants.

(Miss) PATRICIA HISLOP, Secretary.

(Rev.) ALAN HANDYSIDE, Chairman.

N.Z.C.O. Advisory Board, CPO. Box 1992, Auckland, C.1, New Zealand.

## "Wages of Fear"

IT would be a misfortune if Peace News became narrow minded about its objects by excluding articles and advertisements by "peculiarisms" as J. Willmot calls them. Of course pacifists are regarded as cranks, but that should not encourage them to look upon other ideas and organisations with similar prejudice. Nevertheless I disagree with Gwyneth Anderson in her condemnation of "The Wages of Fear."

C. W. LANE.

64 Parklawn Avenue, Epsom, Surrey.

## Peace-making methods

I WAS interested to read Oswald Deakin's letter in Peace News on July 2.

I heartily agree with him that work for constructive reforms is more worthwhile than petitions. I think if all pacifists could co-operate on one scheme i.e. adopt a South African village and really get to know the people and help them in their every need, and foster non-violence, we should really get people interested in our way of life and at the same time overcome our own frustration and feelings of helplessness.

(Mrs.) K. A. MATTIN.

43 Palewell Park, East Sheen, S.W.14.

## The No Conscription Council

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## DIARY

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select notices for publication. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

**Friday, July 16**  
LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.: 6 Endsleigh St. Policy Mtg. Cent. London PPU.  
YEovil: Members Mtg. 5.30 p.m.: Public Mtg. 7.30 p.m.: Junior Hall, Cong. Ch., Princes St. Chair: George Causar, Speaker: Canon C. F. Harman. "Facing the Challenge of the H-bomb and Communism." For.

**Saturday, July 17**  
LIVERPOOL: 8 p.m.: Pier Head. Open-air mtg. "No More War." Liverpool Peace Board.  
PINNER: 2.45 p.m.: Poster parade and leaflet distribution. Meet at Red Lion, Bridge St. Anti-war and H-bomb campaign. For.  
PORTSMOUTH: 7 p.m.: Speakers Corner, Southsea. Sybil Morrison, "Security through Disarmament." (If wet, at Victoria Rd. Methodist Ch., Victoria Rd.) For.  
TUNBRIDGE WELLS: 3.30 p.m.: 28 East Cliff Rd. Garden Mtg. Rev. Clifford H. Macquire. "Creative Pacifism." For.

**Sunday, July 18**  
MANCHESTER: 3 p.m.: Platt Fields. Open-air mtg. Fred Barton, Mary Robinson. United Peace Fellowship.  
LONDON, W.C.1: 3 p.m.: Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Joint meeting for Discussion of future plans. Non-violent Resistance Group and the Non-violence Commission of PPU.  
LONDON, W.11: 3.30 p.m.: Studio, 29 Addison Ave. (Nr. Holland Pk. Stn.) Pacifist Universalist Service. Discourse—Mr. Ronald Lightowler. "Spiritual Christianity." PPU Religion Commission.  
GLASGOW: 8 p.m.: Queens Pk. Gate. Open-air mtg. PPU.  
HYDE PARK: 7-9.30 p.m.: Pacifist Youth Action speakers. Every Sunday. PYAG.

**Tuesday, July 20**  
LONDON, W.C.1: 7 p.m.: Cent. Mission, Crestfield St. B. Martin Dakin (BBC Brain of Britain) and the Rev. A. D. Belden. (Refresh. 6.30.) AGM Pax Christi League.  
MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.: Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPP.

**Wednesday, July 21**  
BRISTOL: 7 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho., Broadweir. Publicity and membership. PPU.  
NOTTINGHAM: 1.15 p.m.: Open-air mtg. Old Market Sq. Rev. Donald Pipe and others. For. PPU.

**Thursday, July 22**  
HAMPSTEAD: 7.30 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho., 120 Heath St. George Harper. "Aspects of Peaceful Planning." PPU.  
LONDON, W.C.1: 1.15-1.45 p.m.: Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by clergy and laymen of different denominations.  
LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.: Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Meeting of Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Thursday. PYAG.  
LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m.: Lincoln's Inn Fields. Open-air mtg. Sybil Morrison. PPU.

**Friday, July 23**  
LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.: 6 Endsleigh St. Rufus de Pinto. "Goya." Central London PPU.

**Sunday, July 25**  
MANCHESTER: 3 p.m.: Platt Fields. Open-air mtg. Fred Barton, Mary Robinson and others. United Peace Fellowship.  
GLASGOW: 8 p.m.: Queens Pk. Gate. Open-air mtg. PPU.  
HYDE PARK: 6 p.m.: Pacifist Youth Action speakers. Every Sunday. PYAG.

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# CHURCHILL IS BAFFLED

## What he should have told America

LISTENING to the Prime Minister's statement on his visit to Washington one could not help but come to the conclusion that here was a man completely baffled.

Indeed he admitted that his speech was largely a collection of generalities and platitudes.

He had many long hours of talk with Eisenhower but what he told the American President and what the American President said to him must remain a secret, hidden behind a statement which might mean anything.

From what the Prime Minister did say one gathered that he had done his utmost to convey to the President the alarm that is felt in Britain about the possibilities of an atomic war and the dangers with which this country is now faced.

Now that American authorities on the H-bomb have admitted that one bomb can wipe out a city nobody can have any doubts of the fate that awaits Britain if war comes again.

### Britain in danger

And why is Britain in such danger? Because we have become the main base of the American Air Force in Europe.

Did Sir Winston Churchill point that out to President Eisenhower? It was his plain duty to do so and not only to do so but to tell him frankly that, if America cared one little bit about the fate of Britain, the time had come for the announcement that the American Air Force was to be withdrawn.

It is the presence of the American bombers here—Sir Winston has many times admitted it—that places Britain in peril.

Even from a military and strategic point of view the presence of the American Air Force and the bases here is completely indefensible.

For why should a densely populated island like ours have been chosen to become a sort of aircraft carrier in Western Europe?

We know from reading what Field-Marshal Alexander and Montgomery have said what their ideas of the strategy of the next war are.

Both of these military leaders have talked about Britain being knocked out at the beginning of the next war, and of a period of "broken-backed warfare" during which Britain may become a mass of smouldering ruins. Then the war is to be carried on from Canada or from other British Dominions and we are to undergo a process of liberation from overseas.

### Send the bombers home

Did Churchill tell Eisenhower plainly that to go into another war would be tantamount to Britain committing suicide?

He should have done so and told the Americans without the slightest hesitation that we would on no account be drawn in and that the British Government in the interests of the British people demanded that the American Air Force should cease to have its air bases on British soil.

All the platitudes about the unity of the English speaking peoples were just eye-wash. They were the substitute for the grim realities.

Nobody knows this better than Sir Winston. That is why his statement was a collection of fumbling futilities.

### A meeting with Malenkov?

Did he press for a meeting with Mr. Malenkov or did he not? Or was this question discussed and did Eisenhower turn it down?

In answer to Mr. Attlee the Prime Minister said it was just a matter of timing.

But it has been this now for three years. It was Sir Winston's own suggestion at the last election and at the election before that.

So we are very much where we were. The Prime Minister of Britain has not spoken out boldly as the people of Britain were entitled to demand that he should.

A tête-à-tête with President Eisenhower in the secrecy of the White House is useless. The Prime Minister of Britain should be speaking for Britain and Europe and civilisation to the whole world.

### If Germans rearm

The latter part of Sir Winston's statement was devoted to a defence of German rearmament and an appeal to France to support EDC.

But one doubts very much whether Churchill has much influence in France now. Dr. Adenauer, who is already talking in confident and even truculent terms, has helped to harden French opinion against German rearmament.

Rearmament, whether under EDC, NATO, or any such scheme which would make Germany a part of America's strategy in Europe, can only increase tension and lead

## TRIBUNAL PROTEST

WHEN the Scottish and Local Appellate Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors met in Edinburgh on July 8 they were described as "an instrument of Satan" by one of the appellants, Mr William Jack, an 18-year-old paper-mill engineer of 21 Burnside Crescent, Rosyth, Fife.

Jack told the chairman of the Tribunal, Sheriff R. W. Macdonochie, QC, that he had been a Jehovah's Witness for the past three years and described the movement as "The only true body of Christians."

He claimed that the vast majority of people in this world were "instruments of Satan" and this included the Tribunal.

Mr. J. W. Sneddon, another "Witness," appearing for Jack said that anyone who sent a "Witness" to prison was only doing the work of the devil.

to bigger armies and more preparations for war all round.

It cannot be a step towards disarmament and peace.

America, however, insists, and so Churchill insists also, on ignoring French public opinion and opinion inside Germany too.

What lead is the British Labour Party going to give in the situation?

### Labour must speak out

Is it going to take up a line indistinguishable from that of Churchill?

That is what it has hitherto done in its support of EDC.

Every member of the Labour Party who is opposed to German Rearmament and all it implies must do his or her utmost to see to it that British Labour is not lined up behind Sir Winston and his pathetic hesitation to give a lead to Britain and the world.

Why should not British Labour say what Churchill failed to say at Washington?

## REGINALD REYNOLDS

### Onward, Christian Mau Mau

THAT good man, Dr. Leakey, has been writing in the Manchester Guardian about the Mau Mau. As he knows a good deal about the subject I have been reading his articles with great interest.

What I did not expect to find was that the Mau Mau are obviously just like us; and, above all, they resemble us in their religion.

This religion is described by Dr. Leakey as "a blending of Christianity with some of the original pagan beliefs of the Kikuyu." Anybody who knows anything at all about the history of the Christian Church knows that Christianity always did incorporate a good deal of the pagan beliefs wherever it happened to seed—in Britain for example.

The next point that Dr. Leakey makes is that this Mau Mau religion has been used to give extra zeal and enthusiasm to the killing business.

Now this is exactly the function of religion with us, from the Archbishops downwards. I could write books about pious soldiers, like Gordon and Montgomery, and whole libraries about bellicose bishops. It is true that religion is gradually being replaced by alcohol in European wars, but this is on account of the deplorable increase in scepticism. Our fighting men seem less confident today that a loving Saviour is personally directing the obliteration.

Those who fight in places like Kenya and Malaya may also lack the spontaneous fanaticism of people fighting for liberty. I reckon it's easier for the Mau Mau, with a religion in which they really believe and the genuine faith of patriots fighting for their fatherland.

But even if we have still a great deal to learn from the Mau Mau I think we have been doing our best in difficult circumstances and on some points we might even teach them something. For example, Dr. Leakey says that the Mau Mau drew its recruits from "nominal Christians, who were well acquainted with the outward forms of this religion, but who had never accepted its doctrines nor become real believers in its Founder."

Now that, surely, is a perfect description of the state of affairs right here. But had the Mau Mau such cunning theologians who could explain away all that Christ said about loving your neighbour and returning good for evil? I very much doubt it and I can think of dozens of eminent ministers of religion who could have been of the utmost service to the Mau Mau had they been more public spirited. But best of all would be some of those chaps who sit on CO Tribunals. There is always at least one on each Tribunal who knows the Bible very well and can justify any kind of butchery by it. We are fortunate in having one of these gentlemen with us in the studio tonight, Dr. Mephistopheles, and I am going to ask him to comment from his own professional experience on some further observations originally made by Dr. Leakey in the Manchester Guardian.

**Leakey:** The outward patterns of Christianity, hymn-singing, formal prayers, sermons and the recitation of a creed, were adopted as the foundations of the Mau Mau religion.

**Myself:** Ah yes, of course: like blessing battleships and all that... What was their creed, Dr. Leakey?

**Leakey:** This creed expresses faith in Almighty God and His chosen leaders, who, under him, would help the Kikuyu get back the "stolen lands," set up self-government and become an independent people.

**Dr. M.:** That's very interesting, Dr. Leakey. In my tribunal cases I'm always reminding those foolish boys that God is a God of Battles. The Old Testament is full of that sort of thing—chosen leaders who had just the same object. Indeed, they went rather further, by invading the land of other people and massacring the inhabitants. All this was under God's guidance, as I explain to these misguided pacifists.

**Myself:** Didn't you say something about patriotic songs written by the Mau Mau, Dr. Leakey? What were they?

**Leakey:** Some were laments over the land "stolen" from the Kikuyu by the wicked white man, some were in praise of the famous Kikuyu prophets of old.

**Dr. M.:** You disappoint me—the object seems so limited. We have much better songs, like "Rule Britannia" and "Land of Hope and Glory," showing our desire not only to be free but to rule the whole earth and the sea. God is in favour of that, too—haven't they anything more militant?

**Leakey:** Hymns such as "Soldiers of Christ, Arise" and "Onward Christian Soldiers" were altered until they were nothing more than a direct incitement to actual physical, and not spiritual, warfare.

**Myself:** But surely these hymns are used by our own soldiers, who seem to understand them the same way. I don't see why they had to alter them. What sort of alterations did they make?

**Leakey:** There were verses that openly spoke of "burning the traitors with petrol."

**Dr. M.:** Now, I must say, you've given me an idea. You know, most of our military symbolism is out of date. People still talk about "taking the sword" when they

# Morale — or Morality?

*I say in all solemnity to the Home Secretary: Why on earth should not we say what we all know—that this country will not tolerate the use of the H-bomb against anybody unless it has been used by them first... I say to the Home Secretary... that my form of civil defence would be either a declaration that Britain would not manufacture H-bombers or bombs at all; or a declaration that Britain pledges herself not to use these weapons unless they are used against us.*

—Mr. Crossman, MP, July 5, 1954.

THERE has been a great deal of praise in the Left Wing press for Mr. Crossman's speech in the House last week during the Civil Defence debate, and rightly so, for he destroyed the whole facade that the Home Secretary on behalf of the Government had built up.

He showed that all the offensive plans are ready; the bombers with the bombs can set off for Moscow in a matter of minutes, but even if there was as much as twenty-four hours warning, which would appear to be extremely unlikely, that there are no plans for the "trek" away from certain extermination in our own cities.

This was nicely glossed over in the presentation by the Home Secretary, but Mr. Crossman stripped off the veneer and exposed the truth, the very unpleasant truth, that in the minds of the Government the millions within the minimum five-mile radius of total destruc-

tion, must be "written off" as though they were "worthless flies."

But after his brilliant piece of factual exposure, it is sad to find no great moral lead, no downright condemnation of the thing itself.

With dramatic and no doubt most effective oratory Mr. Crossman declared that we all know this country will not tolerate the use of the H-bomb against anybody unless it had been used first by someone else. Do we all know that?

So uncertain were the promoters of the H-bomb petition that they would not permit those very sentiments to find a place in it. How immensely encouraging it would have been if instead of asking for a conference on reduction of arms, an attempt had been made to find out if Mr. Crossman's statement is true. If it is a fact that this country will not tolerate the use of the H-bomb, millions of signatures to that effect might have had a very great influence.

The tragedy is, that though it may be true that the majority believe the H-bomb should not be used unless it is first used against them, it undoubtedly shows a deplorable lack of ordinary intelligence, for if a great power like Russia should decide to make war, and to use atomic weapons, it would not be one bomb, nor two bombs, but hundreds that would be launched in a matter of hours.

In that event it is extremely unlikely that there would be any survivors in this country; it is obvious that the only hope of survival in an atomic war is to be the one to strike the first blow. So that to declare we will not do so, is tantamount to declaring for suicide in the most unpleasant and dreadful manner ever conceived.

It is in fact a pointless evasion of the logical conclusion of reliance upon these weapons. To self-righteously declare against using the very thing that we insist is a deterrent to its use by others, is not only stupid, but it is immoral.

Unless we are prepared not only to expose the utter fallacy of the Home Secretary's attempt to build up morale as a substitute for defence against the H-bomb (which Mr. Crossman undoubtedly achieved, even though only a handful of Members of Parliament were there to hear him), but also to let it be known that we will not tolerate under any circumstances the use of this immoral and evil weapon, then we are simply paltering with principles, and bargaining with conscience.

We should scarcely condone a declaration not to burn babies alive unless we saw someone else doing it first, after which it would be perfectly in order to do so. Yet that, and worse, is what we should in fact be doing if these weapons are used.

There is only one way to ensure that they are not used, and that is to renounce them altogether; since, if there is a war they will be used, this means renouncing war as a means to any end.

And so, what once seemed to be the idealistic pledge of a tiny minority, has come at last to be the only sane policy for survival today. It is also the only right and moral one.

## People in the news

**Mrs. Pandit**, President of the United Nations, had a private meeting in London on Tuesday with the officers of British pacifist bodies, Quakers, members of the National Peace Council and the Editor of Peace News.

**Professor Kathleen Lonsdale** is to travel round the world this summer speaking privately and publicly on pacifism.

**Muriel Lester**, Travelling Secretary of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, retires at the end of this month.

**Dr. Soper** will speak at the Labour Peace Fellowship meeting to be held during the Labour Party Conference week at Scarborough on September 27.

**Victor Yates**, MP, and **James Avery Joyce** will also speak.

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